

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 COME-00 EB-08
LAB-04 SIL-01 /071 W
-----112034Z 129858 /53

R 111715Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASH DC 3310
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
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OECD PARIS
AMCONSUL NAPLES
MILAN 4099
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN, GERMANY
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 ROME 4046

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, ELAB, PINR, IT, EFIN
SUBJECT: CISL AND UIL POWER STRUGGLES REFLECTED IN PRE-CON-
VENTION MEETINGS

REF: ROME 0560 AND 0740

1. SUMMARY. IN THE LAST WEEK, BOTH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC
ORIENTED LABOR FEDERATION CISL AND THE SOCIALIST-DOMINATED
UIL HELD MEETINGS OF THEIR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES. THE
OSTENSIBLE OBJECTIVE IN BOTH CASES WAS TO DEVELOP PLAT-
FORMS FOR REGIONAL DISCUSSION AND ULTIMATE ENACTMENT AT
THE NATIONAL CONVENTIONS WHICH EACH WILL HOLD IN JUNE:
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THE CISL IN ROME, JUNE 14-19 THE UIL IN BOLOGNA, JUNE
29-31. IN FACT, HOWEVER, BOTH ORGANIZATIONS WERE
SEEKING TO RECONCILE THEIR DISPARATE ELEMENTS, AN EFFORT
SERIOUSLY HAMPERED BY THE POWER STRUGGLE EACH IS UNDER-
GOING. AT THE END OF BOTH MEETINGS, THE DIFFERENCES HAD
AT LEAST BEEN PATCHED OVER, BUT NOT REMOVED. AT CISL,
THE MODERATES MADE GAINS. AT THE UIL, THE SOCIALISTS

SEEMED FIRMLY ENTRENCHED WITH THE REPUBLICANS DISGRUNTELED BUT CONSIDERABLY REDUCED IN INFLUENCE. END SUMMARY.

2. CISL AT ITS MEETING ADOPTED TWO DOCUMENTS AS CONSTITUTING THE PROPOSED PLATFORM FOR THE NATIONAL CONVENTION. THE FIRST DOCUMENT WAS THE PRODUCT OF THE CURRENT MACARIO LEADERSHIP, HEIR TO THE DIMINISHED STORTI COALITION. THE SECOND THESIS WAS SUBMITTED BY NATIONAL SECRETARY MARINI AND HIS MODERATE SUPPORTERS WHO CONTENTED THAT THEIR DOCUMENT COMPLEMENTED THAT OF MACARIO. PIERRE CARNITI, MARINI'S COMPETITOR FOR ULTIMATE CONTROL OF CISL AND LEADER OF THE LEFT WING, ASSERTED THAT THE MARINI DOCUMENT WAS IN CONTRADICTION TO THE MAIN DOCUMENT AND OUGHT TO BE VOTED UPON SEPARATELY. CARNITI'S OBJECTIVE WAS TO FORCE A SHOWDOWN, TO "ESTABLISH THE IDENTITY" OF THE CISL MAJORITY. AFTER CONSIDERABLE DEBATE, AND A LOT OF SMOKEY-ROOM POLITICKING, THIS INITIATIVE WAS DEFEATED AND THE TWO DOCUMENTS WERE PASSED AS ONE.

3. THE DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN THE TWO DOCUMENTS WERE TO BE FOUND IN THREE PARTICULAR SUBJECT AREAS:
ON RELATIONS WITH THE PARTIES, THE MACARIO DOCUMENT EMPHASIZED THE NEED TO ACHIEVE ABSOLUTELY AUTONOMY. THE MARINI DOCUMENT EMPHASIZES THE NEED FOR CISL TO DISTINGUISH ITSELF FROM THE COMMUNIST-DOMINATED CGIL, INDICATING THAT THE AUTONOMY THAT CISL MOST REQUIRES IS FROM THE CGIL.
ON COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, THE MACARIO THESIS UNDERLINES THE NEED TO DEVELOP APPROPRIATE STRATEGIES LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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IN SUCH A WAY AS TO OBTAIN GOVERNMENTAL INTERFERENCE IN THE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING ARENA. THE MARINI GROUP EMPHASIZES THE NEED TO REACQUIRE CONTROL OVER THE CONTRACTUAL PROCESS, I.E., TO REVERSE THE TREND TOWARD EVERY UNION FOR ITSELF, AND TO UNDERSCORE PLANNING IN UNION POLICIES.
ON THE IMPORTANT SUBJECT OF LABOR UNITY, THE MACARIO DOCUMENT STATES, INTER ALIA (THE WHOLE THING RUNS TO SCORES OF PAGES), THAT "THE REAL PROBLEM IS NOT THAT OF FIXING NEW MAGIC TIMETABLES, BUT TO PEN A NEW PHASE OF POLITICAL STRUGGLE FOR UNITY AT ALL LEVELS, IN WHICH THE CISL WITH ALL OF ITS STRUCTURES CAN AND OUGHT TO BECOME A SOURCE OF STRENGTH." THIS STATEMENT WOULD APPEAR TO BE AN EXERCISE IN STUDIED AMBIGUITY. THE MARINI PEOPLE RE-EMPHASIZE THE NEED FOR AUTONOMY FROM BOTH THE PARTIES AND FROM CGIL HEGEMONY, "TAKING A NEW LOOK AT THE INSTRUMENTALIZATION OF THE UNIFIED MARINI DOCUMENT GOES ON FORCEFULLY TO NOTE THAT "THE POLICIES OF THE CCU HAVE NEVER BEEN IN DISCORD WITH

THOSE OF THE PCI."

4. COMMENT. IN THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE MODERATES AND THE LEFT WING, A SWING ROLE WAS PLAYED BY SOME 20 EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS LED BY CISL PRESS CHIEF LUCA BORGOMEIO. MORE CLEARLY THAN HERETOFORE, THE BORGOMEIO GROUP ASSOCIATED ITSELF WITH THE MARINI COALITION WHICH WOULD APPEAR TO HAVE RESULTED IN A TENUOUS NEW MAJORITY IN CISL. THIS LED MACARIO TO MAKE SOME GESTURES WHICH MADE HIM SEEM TO BE LEANING AWAY FROM CARNITI WHOSE CANDIDACY FOR THE POST OF DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL HE HAD PREVIOUSLY ESPOUSED. CARNITI, INFACIT ANNOUNCED THE WITHDRAWAL OF HIS FORMAL CANDIDICAY FOR THAT POST.

5. ON BALANCE, IT WOULD SEEM THAT MARINI AND HIS SUPPORTERS, HAVING SCORED A KNOCKDOWN OVER CARNITI, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ARE AHEAD ON POINTS. THE FIGHT, OF COURSE, IS FAR FROMOVER, BUT THE MODERATE ELEMENTS ARE OF GOOD CHEER AT THE MOMENT. PAOLO SARTORI, MOST OUTSPOKEN ANTI-COMMUNIST CISL LEADER, DESCRIBED THE OUTCOME OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE DELIBERATIONS AS "EXTREMELY POSITIVE RESULT BECAUSE THE ATTEMPTS TO INFLICT LACERATIONS UPON THE CISL HAVE BEEN FOILED." WHILE DIVERSE OPINIONS PREVAIL, SARTORI CONTINUED, "THE DEBATE DURING THE COMING NATIONAL CONVENTIN COULD POSSIBLY LEAD TO A SYNTHESIS OF THE VARIOUS POSITIONS". END COMMENT

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LAB-04 SIL-01 /071 W
-----112033Z 130051 /53
R 111715Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASH DC 3311

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
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6. THE ATTEMPT TO ARRIVE AT A UNIFIED POSITION WAS
AT THE CENTER OF THE UIL DELIBERATIONS AS WELL. HERE,
TOO, POLICY DIFFERENCES TOOK UP A GREAT DEAL OF THE
DISCUSSION, BUT THE PRIMARY BATTLE WAS A DIRECT RE-
FLECTION OF THE FACT THAT RAFFAELE VANNI, DEPOSED AS
SECRETARY GENERAL BY BENVENUTO WHEN THE SOCIAL DEMO-
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CRATS SWITCHED SIDES, HAS NOT RECONCILED HIMSELF TO
THE PRECIPITOUS AND, IN HIS VIEW, TREACHEROUS COUP WHICH
TURNED HIM OUT AFTER MANY YEARS OF SUCCESSFULLY STAVING
OFF THE SOCIALISTS THROUGH A SKILLFUL USE OF THE
NARROW MAJORITY OFFERED BY A COMBINATION OF HIS OWN
REPUBLICANS AND THE SCIAL DEMOCRATS, TOGETHER WITH A
FEW DEVIANT SOCIALISTS.

6. ALTHOUGH BENVENUTO TRIED HEROICALLY TO ACHIEVE A
CONSENSUS, AND THERE WERE TIMES WHEN AGREEMENT SEEMED
IMMINENT, IN THE END BOTH A MAJORITY AND A MINORITY
DOCUMENT WERE ADOPTED FOR PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSIONS.
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO ELEMENTS WERE REFLECTED IN
THE SAME TOPICS AS IN CISL. THERE WAS ACCORD ON RESISTANCE
TO COMMUNIST CONTROL, AND ALL UIL ELEMENTS CLEARLY
IDENTIFIED THE ORGANIZATION WITH THE WEST.

7. ON RELATIONS WITH THE PARTIES, THERE WAS PERFECT
AGREEMENT THAT AUTONOMY SHOULD PREVAIL. HOWEVER, THE
REPUBLICANS ACCUSED THE SOCIALISTS AND BENVENUTO IN

PARTICULAR OF SEEKING TO TRANSFORM THE UIL INTO A SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION. IN PRIVATE EXPLANATION OF THIS ACCUSATION, UIL REPUBLICANS POINTED TO THE ACTIVE (AND EVIDENTLY PARTLY SUCCESSFUL) RECRUITMENT INTO THE UIL OF CGIL SOCIALISTS. THE REPUBLICANS ALSO ACCUSED THE SOCIALISTS OF FAVORING THE "LEFT ALTERNATIVE" IN CONTRAPOSITION TO CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC HEGEMONY OVER THE COUNTRY, A CHARGE WHICH OF COURSE, ACCURATELY REFLECTS PROCLAIMED SOCIALIST POLICY.

8. ON COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, THE DIFFERENCES WERE NARROWER. THE REPUBLICAN DOCUMENT ADVOCATES THE SOLUTION OF CONTRACTURAL PROBLEMS THROUGH A JOINT EFFORT BETWEEN LABOR, MANAGEMENT AND GOVERNMENT. THE MAJORITY DOCUMENT PREFERS TO DEAL WITH MANAGEMENT AND GOVERNMENT SEPARATELY, ARGUING THAT SITTING DOWN JOINTLY WITH MANAGEMENT AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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GOVERNMENT AUTOMATICALLY RENDERS LABOR OUTNUMBERED, TWO TO ONE. THE REPUBLICANS ALSO ACCUSED THE SOCIALISTS OF BEING "MAXIMALISTS" IN THE BARGAINING ARENA, AND OF ASSESSING DEMANDS WHICH ARE NOT SUFFICIENTLY "COHERENT".

9. ON LABOR UNITY, BOTH DOCUMENTS, USING DIFFERENT TERMINOLOGY AND REASONING, ARRIVE ESSENTIALLY AT THE SAME POINT, I.E., THE PRESENT LOOSE COMBINATION AS REFLECTED IN THE CCU"IS AS FAR AS LABOR UNITY OUGHT TO GO, AT LEAST FOR THE PRESENT. THIS IS, OF COURSE A QUINTESENTIALLY UIL POSITION--ONE WHICH VANNI CONSTANTLY UNDERSCORED--SINCE, UNDER THE PREVAILING TERMS, THE UIL'S STRENGTH IS MAXIMIZED IN THAT THE UIL, THOUGH LESS THAN ONE FOURTH AS NUMEROUS AS THE CGIL, IS CO-EQUAL WITHIN THE CCU FRAMEWORK.

10. ONE OF THE MOST BITTER BATTLES IN THE UIL SESSION WAS OVER THE DISTRIBUTION OF DELEGATE STRENGTH AT THE COMING CONVENTION. UNDER CURRENT MEMBERSHIP FIGURES, AS ASSEMBLED BY THE LEADERSHIP, THE REPUBLICANS ARE SAID TO HAVE NO MORE THAN TEN PERCENT OF UIL MEMBERS WHILE THE SOCIALISTS NOW POSSESS AN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY. THE REPUBLICANS ACCUSED THE SOCIALISTS OF "BUYING" NUMEROUS MEMBERSHIPS, I.E. PAYING FICTITIOUS MEMBERSHIPS IN ORDER TO INCREASE THEIR RELATIVE STRENGTH. (THE CHARGE MAY WELL BE ACCURATE/HOWEVER, THE PRACTICE WAS NOT INVENTED BY THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP). THE REPUBLICANS REFUSED TO ACCEPT THE CURRENT MEMBERSHIP RELATIONSHIPS AS DECISIVE FOR CONVENTION STRENGTH AND ARGUED, INSTEAD, FOR A DISTRIBUTION BASED ON AN AVERAGE RELATIVE STRENGTH BETWEEN THE THREE UIL FACTIONS DURING THE PAST FOUR YEARS. IN THE END, A COMPRO-

MISE WAS REACHED ACCORDING TO WHICH CURRENT STRENGTH
IN SICILY, SARDINIA AND ABRUZZI WOULD DETERMINE THE
DISTRIBUTION OF DELEGATES FROM THOSE AREAS WHILE IN THE
REST OF THE COUNTRY, LOCAL UIL ORGANIZATIONS WOULD FIGHT
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IT OUT.

11. COMMENT: THROUGHOUT THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
SESSION, SECRETARY GENERAL BENVENUTO PRESENTED A LOW
PROFILE, BEHAVED IN AN UNUSUALLY RESTRAINED MANNEER.
SOURCES CLAIM THAT AT ONE POINT VANNI THREATENED
TO WITHDRAW THE REPUBLICANS FROM THE UIL, BUT FOUND
NO SUPPORT FOR THIS MOVE AT THE PRI. BASED ON THE
CURRENT REALITIES IN THE UIL--WHICH EVIDENTLY PRE-
CLUDE ANY RETURN BY THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS TO THEIR FORMER
ALLIANCE WITH THE REPUBLICANS--VANNI AND
THE REPUBLICANS WOULD APPEAR TO HAVE LITTLE CHANCE TO
REACQUIRE CONTROL. THEY CAN EXERCISE A MODERATING IN-
FLUENCE, PARTICULARLY SINCE BENVENUTO AND THE SOCIALISTS
APPEAR TO WISH TO AVOID A SCHISM AT ALL COST.BEAUDRY

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, LABOR RELATIONS, PARTY STRENGTH, POLITICAL PARTIES, PARTY MEETINGS
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Decaption Note:
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Disposition Approved on Date:
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Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: DG ALTERED
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
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From: ROME
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Image Path:
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Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770368/aaaacieo.tel
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Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 ROME 560
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
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Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3134363
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CISL AND UIL POWER STRUGGLES REFLECTED IN PRE-CON- VENTION MEETINGS
TAGS: PINT, ELAB, PINR, EFIN, IT, UIL, CISL
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/a2c1bab9-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009